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Letter dated 9 November 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a letter addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Osman Ertuğ, Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see annex).

I should be grateful if the present letter and its annex, which contains the text of a letter sent to you by His Excellency Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş, President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see appendix) could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 54, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Inal BATU
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 9 November 1993 from Mr. Osman Ertuğ
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to enclose herewith the text of a self-explanatory letter dated 5 November 1993 addressed to you by His Excellency Rauf R. Denktaş, President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see appendix).

I would be grateful if the present letter and its annex could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 54, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Osman ERTUĞ
Representative
Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

APPENDIX

Letter dated 5 November 1993 from Mr. Rauf R. Denktaş addressed to the Secretary-General

I have read Mr. Glafcos Clerides' address at the plenary of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations with great care and attention in order to glean from its contents some hope for future intercommunal cooperation and accord, but I was greatly disappointed.

Despite the linkage between the success of the negotiating process conducted within the framework of your mission of good offices and the establishment of a positive political atmosphere between the two sides in Cyprus, Mr. Clerides persists in totally disregarding the rights and aspirations of the Turkish Cypriot people and making allegations concerning, inter alia, the "aggression" and "intransigence of Turkey" and the "flagrant violation of human rights" in Cyprus, thus creating artificial issues such as that of the so-called "settlers" and "refugees", and exploiting, for political purposes, the issue of missing persons.

Mr. Clerides overlooks the background to the events of 1974 by portraying the intercommunal question of Cyprus as a question of "invasion and occupation" by Turkey, having arisen in 1974 with the onset of the Turkish intervention. As you are well aware, given the 29-year presence of United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) on the island, the Cyprus question has not been brought about by Turkey's intervention in Cyprus, but in the words of Mr. Clerides himself it arose in 1963 as a result of "the Greek Cypriot preoccupation that Cyprus should be a Greek Cypriot State, with a protected Turkish Cypriot minority" (My Deposition, vol. III, p. 105).

The Cyprus problem arose in 1963 when the Greek Cypriot side tried through armed attack to convert a bicommunal partnership State into a Greek Cypriot republic. The notorious plan (the Akritas Plan) under which the Greek Cypriot side prepared the ground and executed its criminal activities has been before the Security Council as document S/12722, dated 30 May 1978. The Cyprus problem, therefore, is a problem of forced occupation of the seat of bicommunal government by one of the partners of the State.

Following the forceful destruction of the 1960 binational partnership State by the Greek Cypriots, the years between 1963 and 1974 witnessed unprecedented cruelty, violence and other violations of human rights perpetrated by the Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriot people and stand as a shameful episode in the recent history of the island. During 1963-1974 hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were killed by armed Greek Cypriot paramilitaries and hundreds more were abducted or subjected to enforced disappearance, never to be seen again. The Turkish Cypriot populace were forced to live in enclaves under siege and subhuman conditions, denied the enjoyment of even their most basic human rights and freedoms, as the Greek Cypriot side has been relentless in its attempt to subjugate the Turkish Cypriots by force of arms and by means of systematic oppression and discrimination. There is, in fact, ample graphic evidence of a genocidal campaign of ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Greek Cypriots during 1963-1974 (see, for example, the reports of the Secretary-General dated

10 September 1964 (S/5950 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2), paras. 103, 180, 190-192, 203, 205, 221 and 222, and Add.2, para. 4; 15 June 1964 (S/5764 and Corr.1), paras. 49, 50 and 93; 10 December 1965 (S/7001), para. 162; 10 June 1966 (S/7350), paras. 100 and 111; and 8 December 1967 (S/8286), para. 126).

Turkish Cypriots were relieved from this agony and were saved from total extermination only by the timely intervention of Turkey in 1974, after the Greeks had made a bloody attempt at the final takeover of Cyprus by Greece through a coup d'état organized by the Junta in Athens and its collaborators in Cyprus. Turkey's intervention was undertaken in accordance with her rights and obligations under the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960 and was fully legal and legitimate, as confirmed even by courts in Athens. The 1974 intervention, therefore, is not the cause of the Cyprus question, as portrayed by Greek Cypriots, but the direct consequence of the Greek and Greek Cypriot conspiracy and overt acts during 1963-1974 aimed at converting a bicommunal State into a Greek Cypriot State prior to annexing the island to Greece.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Greek Cypriot side is in no position to lecture anybody on human rights issues, since it is the Greek Cypriot side that has violated all the basic rights and freedoms of the Turkish Cypriots during the 1963-1974 era and, to a great extent, continues to do so even today through the application of an all-embracing inhuman embargo against the Turkish Cypriots and a hostile campaign of defamation and propaganda, under the false title of the "Government of Cyprus", with a view to isolating the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner of the Republic and thus forcing Turkish Cypriots to abandon their basic rights as a politically equal partner in the body politic of Cyprus.

When judged against this background of past and present violation of human rights by the Greek Cypriot administration, the unfounded allegations levelled by the Greek Cypriot side in international forums clearly appear as an attempt to gloss over their own criminal record in this respect.

As regards the question of displaced persons, it should be mentioned that nearly four fifths of the Turkish Cypriot population, some of them for the second and some for the third time since 1955, have been rendered refugees or became displaced persons, as a result of the Greek Cypriot side's armed attempts to annex Cyprus to Greece.

Mr. Clerides has apparently forgotten to mention that the question of displaced persons has been settled by agreement between the two sides at the third round of the intercommunal talks held at Vienna between 31 July and 2 August 1975, whereby the two sides agreed on a voluntary regrouping of populations in their own respective territory, the Turkish Cypriots in the North and the Greek Cypriots in the South, paving the way for a bizonal settlement of the Cyprus question, which became the basis for a settlement of the problem as from my agreement with Archbishop Makarios in 1977.

The demographic structure of Cyprus is another subject that the Greek Cypriot administration has been persistently exploiting, notwithstanding the fact that it is the Greek Cypriot side itself that, in collaboration with Greece, has long been trying to alter the demographic structure of the island in favour of the Greek side.

Following the Greek Cypriot onslaught on the Turkish Cypriot people in 1963, mainland Greek troops in their thousands were brought to the island clandestinely, as admitted by high Greek officials, in order to materialize the annexation of the island to Greece (ENOSIS). The reports of United Nations Secretaries-General to the Security Council (e.g. S/5950 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2 of 10 September 1964 and S/8286 of 8 December 1967) testify to the fact that these Greek mainland troops were granted "legal status" by the Greek Cypriot regime in order to resettle them in the island on a permanent basis.

While this was being done, as part and parcel of the Greek Cypriot policy of annihilating the Turkish Cypriot population through massacres, oppression, discrimination and violation of their human rights, there was a forced emigration of the Turkish Cypriot population from Cyprus, first during EOKA terrorism (1955-1958) and then during the 1963-1974 period of oppression and hardships imposed on the Turkish Cypriot side. After 1974, a significant number of the Turkish Cypriots who were forced to emigrate between 1963 and 1974 returned to the safety of their homes and took up their economic activities. The new economic activity in Northern Cyprus created opportunities and vacancies and hence a need for new and greater manpower. As a result, a number of workers came to work in the agricultural, tourism, construction and industrial sectors in Northern Cyprus. Akin to standard international practice and in accordance with the laws of the country, some of these people have been granted citizenship of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus after five years of residence.

Mr. Clerides' concern regarding the "fate of missing persons" is another example of the Greek Cypriot side's persistence to exploit humanitarian subjects for propaganda purposes at the expense of those on both sides who have lost their loved ones.

The Greek Cypriot side deliberately keeps this issue alive in order to exploit it for propaganda purposes, although it knows very well that those Greek Cypriots it claims to be "missing" were in fact killed by the Greeks themselves in the internecine war during the coup d'état of 15 July 1974, or killed during the events that the coup had triggered off.

Ample evidence testifying to this fact can also be found in the statements of prominent Greek Cypriot personalities ranging from Greek Orthodox priests to Members of Parliament. (The Greek newspaper Ta Nea published an interview on 28 February 1976 with Father Papatsestos, the Greek Orthodox priest in charge of the Nicosia cemetery. He recounted the events of 17 July 1974 when Greek officers required him to bury truckloads of Greek Cypriots in mass graves, together with one young Greek Cypriot whom they buried alive and 10 dead Turkish Cypriots. This one priest counted at least 127 bodies brought to him, and there must have been many similar incidents throughout the island.) The Greek Cypriot side's persistence in exploiting this issue, therefore, serves no other purpose than obstructing the work of the tripartite Committee on Missing Persons, which is charged with the task of resolving this humanitarian issue.

The allegations made by Mr. Clerides during the said plenary clearly do not square with the search for an agreed political settlement of the Cyprus question, which will reflect the political equality and co-founder sovereignty status of the two sides, for the path towards such a settlement based on political equality and partnership is not the path of such confrontation but

rather the path of friendship and clarity of position. Unfortunately even at this juncture, the Turkish Cypriot side does not know the true Greek Cypriot position on the Set of Ideas and the nature of amendments they wish to be made to it.

While it is clear that a political settlement must be mutually acceptable and arrived at through the free will of the two sides by way of direct negotiations conducted on an equal footing, on the evidence of recent Greek Cypriot press reports it is clear that the Greek Cypriots will persist in shunning direct talks and contact with the Turkish Cypriot side. Moreover, in line with its policy of internationally isolating the Turkish Cypriot side, the Greek Cypriot side is doing its utmost to prevent us from coming into contact with third parties and from being seen or heard by all concerned as justice would demand if justice is to be done. A case in point has been the uproar in Southern Cyprus over British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd's brief contact with me in Nicosia recently.

The remarks of Mr. Clerides at the said plenary and the confrontational attitude on the part of the Greek Cypriots at large begs the question as to how it will prove possible to work out an agreed political settlement with people who cannot even tolerate our contacts with third parties and refuse to acknowledge our vested rights as an equal partner in the Cyprus dispute.

I should be grateful if the present letter could be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 54, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Rauf R. DENKTAŞ
President